1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

533 which is under the care of the immigrants in the *banjar* of Pande, and each of the three boys' associations owns a *gamĕlan sĕlunding*, which may be brought out only at full moon. The *sĕlunding* belonging to the *tĕmu-kĕlod* boys' association is particularly sacred, and is said to have descended directly from heaven. The iron keys are not fastened to the base, nor do they have any eyes with which they can be attached, as other *gamĕlans* do. The *legong* association, founded by the juvenile section of the boys (the *tĕruna nyoman*) has a *sĕmar pĕgulingan* orchestra. Finally there are two *gambang* orchestras, and one *gambuh* ensemble.

534 What attracted my attention most, however, was a coconut-shell *gamĕlan*, since I had never seen such a thing anywhere else on Bali. In a shed in the *banjar* of Pande I discovered a collection of coconut shells on strings in the rafters, and when they were got down at my request they proved to constitute three *gambangs* with coconut shells as sounding boxes instead of the usual bamboo tubes. I had elsewhere seen that bamboos were sometimes suspended under the keys instead of being fastened, but I had never seen coconut shells used for the purpose. The full orchestra consists of two *gambangs* with ten keys and one with four. Together they are called a *gĕlunggangan*, and are played to the accompaniment of two drums. The orchestra makes a very simple impression reminiscent of the African marimba or the Bantu pumpkin piano. My scribe was immediately able to pick out the tones of the Badung *rindik*. Later I found such orchestras in other villages in Karangasĕm as well.[16]

212 The art of reading and writing is quite generally known in Tĕnganan, despite the fact that none of the children from the *desa* attend public or village schools. In the village itself there is a certain amount of instruction of the youngest section of the boys' associations, by their *guru*, as part of their religious education, but the high percentage of literacy is to be attributed primarily to the interest in the old *lontar* writings.

524 In closing, attention may also be called to the fact that children's games such as spinning tops, playing ball, and flying kites are subject to various regulations and prohibitions.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

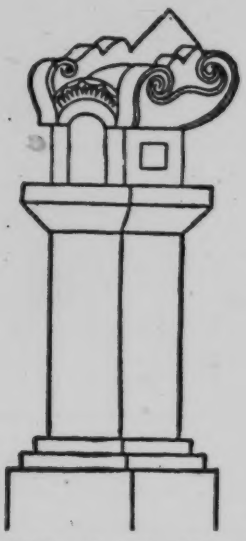
cloth or paper and even three-ply wood are used. The cloth is prepared with starch and glossed with a smooth shell. The preliminary outline is drawn in ochre with a bamboo style (*penelak*) or with a lead pencil, and the colours then applied with a home-made brush (*penulí*), a piece of sharpened bamboo, the fibres of which have been loosened by pounding with a stone. The picture is finished with steady black lines drawn with the bamboo pen, with a second outline in reddish brown inside the black one for all the parts that represent flesh or wood, and the whole glossed once more.

Highly specialized branches of the graphic art are the illustrations of palm-leaf manuscripts (*lontar*), and the making of leather puppets for shadow-plays (*wayang kulit*). In Singaradja there is a library of these manuscripts, the Kirtya Liefrinck van der Tuuk, where are preserved some splendid old *lontars* with illustrations (or copies of them) such as the famous *Dampati Lelangon*, taken from the palace of the Radjas of Lombok at the time of the war; the *Tetumbalans* of Kamenuh and Sawan, the *Bhima Swarga*, *Pari Bhasa*, *Adi Parwa*, and so forth. These are masterpieces of the art of illustration, with miniature pictures incised with an iron style on the blades of the *lontar* palm, the scratch filled in with a mixture of soot and oil. These manuscripts are in the form of books. The *lontar* leaves are cut evenly into strips an inch wide and from a few inches to two feet in length. They are preserved between two boards of some precious wood cut to the size of the leaves and bound together by a cord that passes through a hole in the centre of each leaf.

The shadow puppets, the *wayang kulit* (described later in greater detail), are fashioned from buffalo parchment, cut out with special iron dyes into the most delicate lace and painted. The style of the *wayang* is highly conventionalized although it is considerably more realistic than its ancestor, the Javanese *wayang*. It is curious that the art of painting pictures is not altogether dependent on the *wayang* forms, as it happens to be in Java, where the whole of the art consists in reproductions of

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

shaped like a dancing helmet (*gelunggan*), and often *legong* dancers go there to deposit offerings. Once a year, a day (*tumpak wayang*) is dedicated to the theatre, when all theatrical accessories, the costumes, masks, and marionettes as well as musical instruments, receive offerings, perhaps to restore their original



Shrine with Dancing Headdress in the Temple Mertasari in Semawang

effectiveness. On this day theatrical organizations all over the island give feasts, but no performance of any kind is permitted. There is also a day when literary manuscripts receive offerings; the day is dedicated to Saraswati, goddess of learning, science, and literature, when no one may read.

The size of the crowd is the only indication of whether a performance is successful or not. The Balinese do not applaud or show their appreciation of a performer in any other way. This seeming lack of encouragement does not influence the enthusiasm for the art, and it is my impression that the dance and the theatre of today are even more developed than in the past. Judg-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

rather as a tax, a traditional habit of the people to give back something of what rightfully belongs to the spirits; from the simplest, the little squares of banana leaf with a few grains of rice (*ngedjot, tjanan*) made daily to

782
[532]
[212]
[776]

Ratna Menggali
(*from a Balinese Manuscript*)

the house or left in passing a magically charged spot; the more complete portions of food (**kawisan**, *pangulapan, prasadjengan*, **sorohan**); to the great pyramids of fruit, flowers, and roast chickens (**kboogan, padjegan**), the intricate constructions of cut-out palm-leaf (**sampian, djerimpan, sesayut**), and the great monuments of cooked pig's meat (**saté gedeh**)

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

man happens to have on his land a surplus of bamboo, and to be short of coconuts or rice, he can arrange with the keeper of the accounts to substitute this commodity to the value of his contribution. A record is kept, scratched upon a leaf of *tal* palm, of all contributions and defaults, both in work and in kind, and cumulative fines are imposed upon all who do not do their share. The temple as a rule possesses some funds, chiefly profits from the temple lands (*kabaan*) which are under the custody of the priest guardian, or *pemangkoe*. He makes a living from them, but all members of the temple have an equal share in the produce over and above his portion. If the produce has been divided and distributed among them earlier in the season, they are required to make up in money or in kind the value of their shares, as the needs of the temple festival have first claim upon these riches.

The temple priests who are the guardians of these temples have not studied as have the Brahmana high priests, the *pedanda*, who are often scholars and learned men. The temple priest may be drawn from any caste, Brahmana, Ksatrya, Vesya, or Soedra (Sudra), depending upon the population and caste distribution in the various villages. They are for the most part Soedra, and their office is not a particularly high one, not, for example, of anything like the importance of that of the *klian desa*, head, or literally, elder, of the village. They possess written instructions for the giving of offerings, the prayers, and the course the festival is to follow. These contain long minutely specified listings of the offerings for the festival and of the prayers, in the "old language," known as *kawi*, in the current High Balinese, and some few fragments of corrupt but still recognizable verses in Sanskrit. Many of these appear to be taken from the Vedas, and the term used in Bali for the high priest's praying is the verbal noun formed from the root *ceda*, *mewedа*. To these untutored temple priests the meaning of the Sanskrit fragments is frequently lost, and they content themselves with the repetition of them and the copying out of the texts every generation or so when the palm-leaf books begin to wear out. For this reason the errors which have crept into the versions preserved by the temple priests are very numerous, words and sometimes whole lines are lost, and phonetic changes occur which do not follow any rule, but are merely accidental and influenced to some extent by the pronunciation of similar words (often with quite different meanings) in current Balinese. It is a matter of some amazement to contemporary Sanskrit scholars that they are able today to identify any of the sacred texts which have been so care-

means string, in Sanskrit as well, and from this term the word *s'tali*, meaning one string, is derived. In the prescriptions for offerings written on *lontar (tal)* palm the amount of money was always given in Chinese cash, as 33, 66, etc., but during the years of our study the Dutch silver coins could be substituted.

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Ball OF7

fully preserved and reverently handed down by the people for perhaps five hundred to a thousand years.

The palm-leaf instruction books are referred to chiefly while a young priest is studying for office. As a rule by the time he is ready to officiate the order of the ritual and the prayers have become so familiar to him that he needs no book of instructions. Similarly, the array of offerings is taken care of by the women, special offering experts, who seem to be able to carry in their heads the thousands upon thousands of minutiae without which the offerings would not be complete, and in their finger tips, the necessary twist of the knife to cut out this or that intricate design in the folded leaves of young palm which will form the decorative fringes, panels, streamers, and top-pieces.

As the day of the festival approaches, more and more time is required of the villagers. At the last moment, a few thousands of small cakes are to be baked. Elaborate compositions of flowers and fruits and cakes have to be built up on a banana-stalk base, each unit impaled on a bamboo skewer to hold it in its place in the formal design of the offering. The meat offerings are the last to be got ready, lest they spoil in the heat, and these are the especial care of the men. A pig is killed, sometimes a calf, and ducks and chickens by the dozen. Intestines are pulled out and washed and refilled to make sausages. Fowls are roasted over spits. A great chopping and hashing goes on feverishly for many hours, as the men mix up concoctions of vegetable, meat, and blood to form around the little skewers for roasting and to serve up in mounds to accompany the rice. A special attention is to cut up the fat of the pig into flowers, impale these and fix them in a central support, to form a bouquet of pig-fat, one of the most imposing of the ornamental offerings.[4] But in the course of all these preparations, though the tongue be hanging out for a taste of the unwonted delicacies, no one forgets that this is a feast for the gods, and that the villagers will only get their share after the gods have been served. They will receive, as it were, the leavings from the gods' table, which they call *lo-ngsoeran*, literally, "what is asked back."

For the occasion of the festival the local players of the *gamelan* orchestra, the actors and dancers of the village often prepare a new performance. Many hours of rehearsal may go into working up a new composition, based on the old melodies and rhythms, but recreated for the festival performance. If the village boasts trained dancers, these also go through a rigorous training period before making their "opening" at the temple festival. In many cases, especially if the village has funds, neighboring troupes of dancers and actors are invited to give a performance for a small fee and a part of the feast, or again a play may be arranged with the local talent augmented by one or two famous players, a clown or a player of a princely role, who comes from a distant village and adds to

[4] See Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 115, Plate 30, Nos. 3, 4.

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

It must be remembered that we are referring here to the village temple priests (*pemangkoe*) who are simple officiants and guardians of the temples, and should not be confused with the Brahmin high priests (*pedanda*) to whose province belongs the study and understanding of the classical texts. If these village priests know the *mantras* they have learned them by rote, perhaps reading them off the palm-leaf manuscript (*rontal, lontar*) which was copied out by their predecessor, who was also no scholar, who would not have recognized an error if he saw one, and who no doubt added a few errors of his own in the transcription. When one considers the manner in which these prayer formulae have been handed down among the people for 600 years, no one "daring to understand them" sufficiently to question the obscure meaning, each one accepting the errors of former scribes as a part of the original holy text, faithfully copying them off a molding and disintegrating leaf of palm, in reverence and anxiety lest the holy words be lost — the wonder is not at the corruption of the texts, but at their survival in anything like a recognizable form. For the Sanskrit texts we have given below, that correspond to the prayer formulae recited by the village priest, we are indebted to Dr. R. Goris, the Dutch archeologist for many years stationed in Bali. Dr. Goris published these texts in his *Bijdrage Tot de Kennis der Oud Javaansche en Balinèesche Theologie*, in Leiden, 1926. At the time our study was made he kindly identified for us the versions we had got from the village priest, and gave us the free translations in English. Changing the writing from Balinese script into Roman characters, using the Dutch phonetic spelling, perhaps is unfair in making the village priest's version seem more distant than it would in the syllabic writing.

It would appear to the student of Balinese ritual that the occurrence of trance in the ceremonial is one of those features which vary from village to village. In some villages we have seen, year after year, the trances break out at a given moment in the ceremonial, to the point that we felt able to predict at what stage of the proceedings trance would occur in that particular temple. But in another temple, the same ceremonial might be repeated, year after year, and no one go in trance. In another, trance would break out, almost as at a given cue, at quite another point in the ritual sequence. It is impossible to connect the various forms of trance seizure with any specific rite, to look upon it as an inevitable accompaniment to this rite in different localities. It is possible to state that trance activity is cued in some specific localities to specific rites. In many villages it is not customary to go in trance at all. Conceivably a spontaneous trance outburst could always occur, and might be followed in later years by repetitions of the phenomenon at the same point. We cannot be sure that the trance activities did not once exist in these villages, and have not fallen into desuetude. Neither can we be

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

admitted that their rules were obsolete, "for tigers are now too hard to find. The rhinoceros, they said, must have come from Java (which means to the Balinese any country outside of Bali), for it has never been known in Bali.

After the naming of the various sorts of *charu's* the Tonjă lontar straightway gives a *mantră* or prayer to the *kală bută*, the demons. This, with the *mantră* to Siwă which comes at the end, the Sĕngguhu was unwilling to read out, whether from ignorance of the old language or from fear of the consequences should the magic words be sounded under inappropriate circumstances, I was unable to discover. The lontar is considered very sacred, and offerings had to be made before it could be 'opened'. After the prayer to the demons, the lontar continues:

"This is the law for wrong birth, *bunching kĕmbar* female-male, they must be banished by the villagers to the big crossroads for forty-two days, they must pay for the set of offerings. The offerings are given at the Balé Agung to purify the country, offered to all the gods. The gods are placed on the Balé Panjang (the Balé Agung, here denoting the long platform, to distinguish it from the temple which is called after it Pură Balé Agung). All the Pĕmangkus are called. All the people must make offerings to all the gods in the temples *dĕsa* (= Balé Agung), *dalĕm*, *pusĕh*, *pĕnataran*, *mĕlanting ring pasar* (the market.) When the gods come out, an uncastrated pig must be sacrificed before the big inner gate of the temple.

"This is the story if anyone has twins born *bunching kĕmbar*, exactly as these letters have given it. If anyone does not follow it he will have twins *bunching* again. Beware lest he have them three times."

A *mantră* to Siwă ends the lontar.

The Balinese, as a people in great part illiterate, have an exaggerated respect for the written word. They take the lontars most seriously, considering the prescriptions voiced in them to be as law — a law sometimes obsolete, obscure, unexplainable, but still holding in its content the right way. This in spite of the many disparities which, as

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

are intended to be man and wife, even though it is wrong for them to be so connected. At the present time it is rare for such twins to marry, although the banishment and propitiatory ceremonies are still widely practiced.

Curiously enough, it is not considered a wrong for very high-caste people to have such twins. But there are many divergences in the customs of the high-caste Balinese from those of the djabā. In passing it may be mentioned that men of the three higher castes may marry women who are djabā, whereas it is a crime for high-caste women to marry or to have relations with a man of lower caste than their own. Offenders used to be either drowned in the sea or banished to another island. Within the past five years the government was forced to deport a Brahmana woman and a djabā man, who, banished from their own village, were refused admittance to all other villages and towns.

The Balinese lontars, sacred texts written on leaves of the tal palm, describe in full the penalties and atonements for the unusual case in family matters: incestuous unions, birth of twins, seductions, suicides, etc. These are the things that are "not done." But for the things that are done, the customary, everyday occurrences, there are no written rules. That is why I have presented this study of a single family in its intimate relations, with the hope that it will give some picture of the family life running its ordinary course.

NEW YORK CITY

1:Alkema & Bezemer--44 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia
Historical Java OE2
Bali OF7

[38 cont.]

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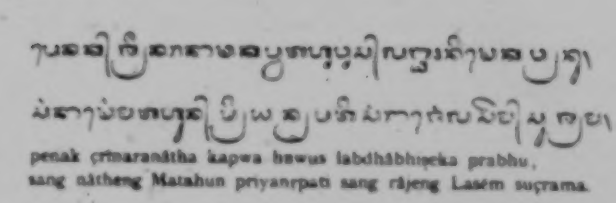
538
114
B
H
[212]



penak çrīnaranātha kapwa hawus labdhābhiṣeka prabhu,
sang nātheng Matahun priyanṛpati sang rājeng Lasem suçrama.

Fragment of an Old Javanese Poem in Balinese Script.

The other great Sanskrit epic poem, the Ramayana, occupies a somewhat less important place in the history of Old Javanese literature in the form of a free adaptation. Dr. Poerbatjaraka is of the opinion that this adaptation was done as early as the beginning of the tenth century A.D. (2). "The Javanese poet,"

2. In the memoir of the Koninklijke Instituut (1926), pp. 265 f.

says Professor Kern, who published the entire poem in 1900 and gave translations of a number of cantos in the Bijdragen van het Koninklijke Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlands Indië, Vol. 73, 1917 (3), "follows, for the most part,

3. These translations have since been continued by Dr. Juynboll.

the story of the history of Rama as it is found in the Indian epic, but his work is much briefer, in spite of the fact that the poet of the Kakawin (poem) has made all sorts of additions, chiefly in the last three cantos." "In contrast to the more strictly epical character of the old Ramayana, the Javanese poet has given more space to descriptions of nature and to more or less idyllic sketches" (4).

4. Bijdrage, Vol. 73, p. 1.

I [149 cont.]
197 within small circles, and thus there arose almost as many dia-
174 lects as villages, which was furthered by the lack of alphabeti-
cal writing.

Alphabetical Writing

Bt
Br
I
211 Some peoples already have their own alphabetical writing, but most of them are still ignorant of the art of writing. [150] among whom are the least developed, which does not alter the fact, however, that the latter, namely, the Dajak, the inhabitants of Siak, and other tribes, do use symbolic drawings or signs to communicate with absentees or to remind themselves of something or other. Sometimes they use knotted ropes, or then again little sticks or arrows provided with notches, palm leaves folded in a particular way, or even series of images carved on small wooden boards. These drawings, which for brevity we shall mnemonic signs, are still often used by those who know the art of writing, for example, the Batak, and may be regarded as the precursors of writing (1).

1. Pleyte, "Iets over mnemonische en andere teekenen [Something about mnemonic and other signs]," etc., Bijdr. v. h. Kon. Inst. v. d. t. L. en Vk. v. Ned. Indië, 5th series, Vol. I, pp. 127-139.

J
S
Md Among the peoples with writing, the foremost are the
Bl Javanese, whose characters are used also by the Sundanese,
212 Madurese, and Balinese. There is a slight difference, however, between the alphabetic writing of the last-named and that of the Javanese.

Bl The lontar palm originally provided the writing material,
212 which is still commonly used today on Bali. The leaves were

2: Wilken--187 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Bali OF7
Javanese OE5
Java OE1
Redjang-Lampung OD12

B1
212 [150 cont.]
cut into narrow, rectangular strips, on which the characters were made with a small pointed knife. Paper is generally used now, especially on Java, and it is either of local manufacture or imported from Europe. The native paper is called dĕluwang or daluwang Kr. (1) [see footnote 1 on preceding page], Ng. dĕlantjang, and made from the bast of the galugu, a tree closely related to the family of the paper mulberry tree, Broussonetia papyrifera (2). Its bark is soaked for about 24 hours and after

2. Roorda, Jav. Wrdb., see dĕluwang.

that it is pounded for a long time while being repeatedly dipped in water. In this way, the various pieces are pounded into one. Then they are dipped in rice water, which makes the upper surface smooth and suitable for writing (3). This last operation

3. Van Musschenbroek, Bernstein's laatste reis [Bernstein's last journey], p. 35, note.

is similar to our gumming of paper, for which a solution of gum and alum is used.

In recent times, however, the dĕluwang is being [151] crowded out by European Chinese paper and is gradually falling into disuse. The native likewise calls imported paper dĕluwang, but more generally kartas or kertas, a word of Arabic origin (1).

1. Roorda, Jav. Wrdb., p. 240.

J
212 He uses the horny fiber-rib of the areng palm for a pen and calls it kalām, the Arabic name. The Javanese not infrequently write in Arabic characters, especially religious writings. Such script is called pegon.

R-L
212 Three kinds of alphabets are used on Sumatra, the Lampong, the Satra rentjong or Rentjong writing, and the Batak. The Satra rentjong, used by the Redjang, is the most original